Humanum est Errare,

OR

FALSE STEPS

ON

BOTH SIDES.

First, On the Kings Part.

I. THat the *King* did not declare his Judgement in Council, for *Liberty of Conſcience*, at the ſame time that he profeſſed himſelf a *Roman Catholick*, that ſo all Parties might have known, at once, what they had to *Truſt* to; which would rather have *excuſed* his *Popery*, then have rendered it more Intollerable, nothing being more *Popular* at that time, then ſuch a Liberty.

II. That He did not *try* the *Parliament* He called at his coming to the *Crown*, upon the *Penal Laws* only, before He parted with it, for either He had gained the Liberty ſo far, without an hazard, or got a better *Parliament* to his mind, by parting with that upon a Point, that his Brothers ſeverities had made very deſirable in the Kingdom.

III. That He did not chuſe to *begin Liberty of Conſcience* by *Parliament*, rather then by *Declaration*; by *Law* then by *Prerogative*: for that way it could not have met with ſuch exception; and the other might have ſerved at laſt.

IV. That when it was given, and He was pleaſed with the acceptance it found, He did not *immediately call a Parliament* to confirm it, while that humer prevailed, and they who did not like it were aſhamed to oppoſe it, and had not yet ſo much as *formed* any ſecret Councils or Correſpondencies againſt it.

V. That the *Prince and Princeſs of Orange* were not taken into that meaſure, which had been very eaſie, ſo early; and by their Concurring, that were *next* to the *Crown*, and of the *Legal Religion* of the Kingdom, there had been no place left for Jealouſie or Contradiction, nor any one of moment enough to *Head* or *Countenance* a Defecti-

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on. This way *Popery* might have had *room enough* in *England*, by leave, and her Children been preſerved by ſuffering a larger ſecurity to others. For this method had begotten a *good underſtanding* between Us and *Holland*, and conſequently between Us and the *Confederates*, who being moſtly *Catholick*, would have been ſure to have ſecured good terms here for thoſe of their own Judgement; tho, by their preſent Motions, it appears Intereſt may prevail with Princes of that Communion, more then their Religion; which we here have refuſed, at any rate, to believe.

VI. That the *King* would be drawn into ſuch *partial* and *unneceſſary* methods, as that of *Cloſſeting*, the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, *Regulating Corporations*, and *Impoſing* upon the *Clergy* the *Reading his Declaration*, that in the conſequence of it, more then any thing, *fired* the Spirits of the People againſt his Government: All which, the early calling of a *Parliament* had prevented, and the ill effects of them, may truly be charged upon that fatal omiſſion; as That, upon the *Caution* of the Miniſters to venture themſelves with a *Parliament*, tho they knew at the ſame time, their Maſter could not be ſafe without one. Some think it is plain, that the reaſon of *Cloſſeting* was from his unwilingneſs to part with the *Sons* of the Church of *England*, that were in his Service, if it had been poſſible to have kept them, and *Liberty of Conſcience* together; and therefore they owe him an Obligation, even there where they thought themſelves diſobliged by him. For the *Eccleſiaſtical* Court, without doubt he was told, it was the beſt way to check the *Clergy* from running down his Religion in their Pulpits, where no body might contradict them, leaſt by inſenſing the People againſt his *Preſwaſion*, they might come, by degrees, to *inſence them againſt his Perſon and Government*: But a *legal* courſe, had certainly done his buſineſs more effectually, and where the Authority had been *clearer* in the Judgement of the Law, the puniſhment had lain *lighter* on the minds of the People. For the Corporations, in his Time, it was but changing of men according to the power of the *Charters*. For the reading of his *Declaration*, his Friends would have People have the Charity to believe he meant no more then the beſt and ſpedieſt way of *giving notice of a Parliament*, thinking withal, that the popularity of the thing, would in great meaſure cure the Jealouſies that were fomented againſt him, and make amends for the falſe Steps taken in the Interval of *Parliament*. But certainly it is never to be adviſed in any caſe of Importance, *to try Experiments*, but to do that which is *Safeſt*, where what we think is beſt, is *too hazardous* to effect. He that learns to fence with Swords, rather then Foyls, runs a danger greater then the Skill Merrits.

VII. That after He was perſwaded *to put the Biſhops into the* Tower, *He did not* diſcharge Them upon the *Birth* of the *Prince of Wales*, which had brought in the Church into the acknowledgement of him, and They, at that time of the day, the Nation with them. *Over ſtout* hurts no body but ones ſelf.

VIII. That *Ireland* was generally put out of *Proteſtant* and *Engliſh* Hands: It is true, it proves now his advantage, but that is by accident: It was certainly a falſe Step; though He might do it for fear of what has now befallen him, till he could ſee that He and his Friends were out of all hazard, It is certain that gave occaſion to his Enemies, to run Diviſion againſt him.

X. I.

IX. That He filled up the Vacancies in the *Portſmouth Companies* with *Iriſh Souldiers*, for tho they were but four perſons to each Company, and as much his Subjects, as the other, yet it croſt an humer that was for his Intereſt to indulge, at leaſt at that time.

X. That having by theſe things diſobliged the *Church of England*, He did not do enough to engage the *Whig* and *Fanatick* to ſtand by him, but *trimmed* dangerouſly for himſelf: A little thing will ſerve to diſengage a Party, but it muſt not be a *ſmall thing* that will oblige and fix a Party in a *new* Intereſt.

XI. That He was ſo *long* before He publiſhed his Expedient of letting the *Parliament* Teſt remain. Next to his delay of a *Parliament*, his not telling us ſooner, indeed as ſoon as his Friends ſay he reſolved it, what he would allow us for our ſecurity, againſt the miſchieves that were feared from a Liberty to *Roman Catholicks*, was the worſt thing He could have done for his own Intereſt; It kept *Thouſands* from joyning with Him in that deſign of *Liberty of Conſcience*, and made the *Scrupelous* a *Property* to his Enemies: which ſhews us, that reſolutions to pleaſe the People, ſhould neither be *long in taking*, nor *long concealed* when they are taken. If *Princes* once let the People *looſe their longing*, they often miſcary, or their deſires ſo languiſhe that it is hard, if not impoſſible, to *recover their Appetite*.

XII. That after He had heard of the *Preparations* in *Holland*, He did not then, at leaſt, ſend an *Engliſh Man, and a Proteſtant, to the States*, both to find out the Deſign, *whatever it coſt*, and if againſt him, to have diverted it by *timely Memorials*, and *all that addreſs*, that ſuch an Important thing could call for, at the Hand of an Honeſt, Diligent and Wiſe Man. A ſaying of his Brothers had been of uſe to him now, *Don't looſe a Sheep for a hal-fpenny worth of Tar*: The *Twentieth* part of what it coſt him to prepare an Oppoſition here, would have ſtopt them there, which inſtructs us, that *good Husbandry, ill placed, is ſometimes the dangerouſeſt thing in the World*.

XIII. That the *Parliament* that was to have ſat in *November* was ſuffered to be interrupted; and that the *Charters* that were Returned at laſt, had not been Reſtored when the *Declaration* for the Seſſion of that *Parliament* was publiſhed, which teaches us, that it is equally dangerous to change, and to change too late; and perhaps ſomething of both conſpired to the Kings fatality.

XIIII. That he would never be perſwaded to *new moddle* his Army, when all the World ſaw the influemes they were under, muſt render them uſeleſs and dangerous to him in a caſe of extremity. Had that Army had but new Officers, or had the old ones been changed in their commands, it had been impoſſible but the attempt againſt him muſt have proved vain and ſucceſsleſs: Wich ſhows us the Miſcheif of an unreaſonable confidence; for he built his aſſurance upon private paſſion, or an opinion of Gratitude *againſt intereſt and judgment*, that could not but tell him that it was as eaſie *catching Hares with Lobſters*, as defending a cauſe *by inſtruments that are heartily againſt it*.

XV. That upon notice of the *Dutch Fleets* paſſing by *Dover*, there were not ſome *Light-horſe* and *foot mounted* diſpatched weſtward to watch their motion, and obſtruct their landing; then which, nothing is now allowed to have been more eaſy, and that a due reflection upon the action, would even then have given leiſure

enough

enough to have thought of: But when the Army did march, it ſeems an error to many that He did not march with it, and that to *Exeter* it ſelf, before any went into the Prince, but that he let them *halt at Salisbury* to take time to think better how to deſert and betray him: which ſhows too much confidence, and yet not enough of reſolution.

XVI. That he did not *Treat Earlier*, when they were Humbler in their hopes, or *not treat at all*, but poſſeſs himſelf of the City of *London*, and let the Writs proceed for a Parliament, and put the invaders upon proving thoſe *impious Crimes*, that could only rob him of the affections of his Subjects, and render him unworthy of raigning over them, and which, as we ſee now, muſt certainly have procured him the beſt of tearms, by ſatisfyng his jealous People, he was not guilty, and ſo turning the difficulty upon his Enemies: Or laſtly, that he did not timely March off with that part of his Army that was willing to follow him, both of *Engliſh*, *Scotch and Iriſh*, for *Scotland*, which had *ſecured* that Kingdom as entirely to him, as *Tirconel* has done *Ireland*, and with the Forces of both Kingdoms, which it had been eaſie to joyn, have Treated, or Fought his way back again: But this plainly tells us, that when Men are diſordered in their minds by ill ſucceſs, they hardly chuſe what is beſt for themſelves, and when they do ſo, it often happens, they preſs it too feebly to recover themſelves. He thought all loſt, and ſo He loſt all upon that bottom; yet we muſt ſay, *Peace and Plenty filled his ſhort Raign, and that he fell by the faults of others rather then his own.*

Secondly, Falſe Steps on the other Side.

I. THat before the *Prince of Orange* ever undertook to *Invade* His Father, He did not make ſome Publick *Proteſt* againſt his Conduct, in reference to the ſecurity of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Right of his *Princeſs*, and the reſt of the *Proteſtant Royal Blood*: It is good to leave People without juſt excuſe, as it is to accept only of juſt occaſion of advantage.

II. That the *Memorial* the *Marqueſs D' albaville* was ordered to give into the *States*, and which, as late as it was, came to their Hands near a Month before the *Prince* Sailed for *England*, *was not imbraced and improved* by the States, to that *good Underſtanding and firm Alliance*, that it gave a plain handle for; eſpecially, ſince nothing elſe, ſeemed to have been the meaning of the *States* in Lending the *Prince* their Forces by Sea and Land, if they *meant* what they ſaid in their *Memorial* they gave to all the Forreign Miniſters at the *Hague*: Some think this might have proved a *quicker*, and therefore a *better* Security to *Holland*, then our preſent Friendſhid, and with much leſs Confuſion and Conſumption to us: Others are more *malitious*, and ſay, the *Dutch* had rather hazard all with *France*, then not ſpare us this *King* that was ſo near being One there, and that at any time the *Dutch* have the good nature, *To take a Thorn out of their own Foot, to put into their Neighbours.*

III. That

III. That the *Prince* being Landed at *Exeter* He did not ſend then a *Copy* to the *King* of his *Declaration*, in order to ſatisfie Him of the Reaſons and end of his coming; and for prevention of Blood, to have intreated Him to think of thoſe legal Methods, by which the Grievancies complained of, might receive their proper redreſs: This had looked both juſt and decent, and thus Things would evidently have preceeded all perſonal Intereſts: For hardly any body, but was on the ſide of a Reformation to a degree Juſt and Reaſonable.

IV. That He ſtayed too long at *Exeter*, if He was not ſure of gaining His point without Fighting, for it was in the *Kings* power to have *Cut of all Intercourſe* between Him, and thoſe He expected ſhould joyn Him.

V. That He admitted of a *Treaty* at *Hungerford*, after taking no notice for three Weeks, that there was ſuch a thing as a *King* in *England*, and *refuſed* One at *Windſor*, when the tearms grew extreamly on His ſide, and every thing lay nearer to a good accomodation; for four days could make no difference, if the thought of being King was not in his Head, and if it were, a Treaty could not be ſincerely held upon other points.

VI. That the *King* was *ſent for back*, when he was ſtoped, and that he was *Diſlodged*, and *let go* after he returned: For he could not be ſent for back, but as a *King* or *Criminal*; not as a *King*, for he was ſoon Diſlodged by anothers Command, and not as a *Crimenal*, it ſeems, for then he would not have been left at liberty to go away; which ſhews that they that ſent for him back, did not know their Leſſon, till Saturday night at *Windſor*; and that nothing is a better proof, that there was *no Proof againſt him*, about the matters uſually ſuggeſted, then that *He was let go ſo quietly and knowingly*; as if all this great undertaking had not been to mend him, but to get him out of his Kingdom, tho we were told, and therefore thought and expected other things.

VII. That thoſe *Lawyers* that were againſt the *Diſpenſing Power*, out of meer Tenderneſs in Law Points, could give their opinion for *Abdication*, upon a conſtrained abſence of the *King*, and after that, for his *Depoſition*, and the *Elective*neſs of the *Crown*, that They all know, and ever have aſſerted *for Law*, *cannot be legally done* by the Government of *England*; which Contradiction, over-throws all the Proceedings of their Learned Predeceſſors, and ſets the Law with its *heels* upwards.

VIII. That the *Prince* ſhould ſend his Secretary to the Judges, upon the opinion of private *Lawyers*, that the *Kings* abſence was an *Abdication*, peremtorily to forbid the Term which gives Judgement anticedent to the Reſolution of the *Convention*, that the *Kings* Retreat, was an Abdication, tho at the ſame time the reſt of the Government went on in the *Kings* Name.

IX. That the *Convention* did not in the firſt place, *aſſert all Power was in the People of England*, that *They* where the people of *England*, and what they did was the Agreement of the people of *England*; and upon that, *aſſert* their power to *Make*, *Limit*, *Alter*, *Depoſe*, and *Puniſh Kings* when they ſee Cauſe, and that in perſuance of this power, they made the preſent Alteration; and that it was both lawful, and a duty to do what they had now done; elſe, whatever good may be got to the publick, by the preſent Change, They that make it are obnoxious, and thoſe that ſhall imitate it in after time, do it at their own peril.

X. That *They* did not mend the Constitution, as well as seem to Restore it from its abuses, at least as to the *Choice*, *Session* and *Power* of *Parliaments*; such opportunities as this, seldom coming into the Peoples hands: Had we had our *Annual Parliaments* Setled, the *Negative Voice* Restrained, a Commitee of *Lords* and *Commons* to be the *Privy-Council*, no *Officers* of the *King* to serve in *Parliament*, the Revenue Appropriated, all Eminent Offices had upon good Behavour and Election of Members to *Parliament* secured, the Work might have deserved a better Character.

XI. That *They* did not first *determine* the *Disputable* Elections before they went upon any thing of moment, there being near one Hundred, and some say, by very foul play, and that at no other time of day, things were carried more grosly: *Debauching the* Electors, *Adjourning* the Poles, suffering *false* Poles, *Lords appearing* to Influence the Elections; all which, former *Parliaments* thought Intolerable: But that which encreases the error, they Chose a Speaker out of those that had the *Disputable* Elections, and of the *worst sort too*, being against the Choice of the *People*, and that Charter that they pretend to Restore: And they that know how much the Chaire guides that House, and who it is that is in it, and his Circumstances, and by what Interest he came there, are ready to render it a *Capital Blemish* in the *Convention* it self.

XII. That *They* proceeded to chuse a new *King*, before they had *proved* the Crimes laid to the Charge of the old *King*, or without so much as giving him the Refusal upon the terms of Restoring or Amending of the ancient Constitution of the Realm, in Case he were not found guilty of those vile imputations; of which, as it makes People think him now *clear*, because he would not have been spared if he had been guilty; so they begin to esteem it the least piece of Justice to him, that he should not loose his Kingdoms because he has been accused falsly.

XIII. That *They* Voted, *he had broke Faith with his People*, and did not prove in what, which leaves all in the dark: If his Breach of Faith, be Violating his Corronation Oath, that Breach cannot *un-King* him, unleass that *Oath made him a King*; and that, it did not, because he was *King* the very *Minute* his Brother dyed. He was so reputed in *Scotland*, where he was never Crowned, and his Brother acted as such, from the Death of his Father, and it was almost a Year after his Restoration, before he took the Oath: This is obvious to all, and but the natural consequence of an Hereditary Monarchy, where the King never dies.

XIV. That *They* should make the *Prince of Orange*, *King*, without either *Oath* or *Corronation*, which in an Elected *King*, are the *Seals and Sacraments* of Kingship to the People, and without which, some question if there can be any Allegience due from them.

XV. That the *Prince*, (considering his respectful terms to the King in his *Declaration*) would accept of such a Choice, without so much as inspecting the Right of the pretended *Prince of Wales*, because the aforesaid *Declaration* allows him to be such, till he be disproved, and since he is not so, every body will conclude him too young to be guilty of faults to the Nation, that can make him deserve to be *Excluded*, *as now he is*.

XVI. That admitting there was no *true Prince of Wales*, he could let the flattery of the *Convention* carry him to *overthrow the order of the Line*, in setting his *Wife and Sisters Right aside*, after what he had said in his *Declaration* of the Title of his Princess

being

being the great reason of his medling so publickly in our English affairs. The danger of such a latitude is, that we teach the Instruments of our Ambition, what to do to our prejudice, when it is for their Interest or Revenge, by the *same morrals*, that we use them to our advantage. But this is not all.

XVII. That *He* would think of taking upon him the *Kingship* here, before he had Reduced or Secured the three Kingdoms from a Division of Interest, is as extraordinary; for by looking after that personal Dignity in *England*, he has left *Scotland* and *Ireland* naked; so that King *James* is before-hand with him in one, if not in both Kingdoms, by which neglect he has put the *Labour Oar* upon himself, and delay'd his Affares to a dangerous after-Game: And this will in all probability quickly have its Effects here, and hath already now the News of his Arrival in *Ierland* may be relied upon. For many that would have followed him all the World over, as *Prince* of *Orange*, their *Protector from the danger of Popery*, relish his affecting his Fathers Crown very unpleasantly: and those that consider the Civil-Wars, it will immediately involve these Nations in, and the Desolation and Misery that must follow, as the *Price* of a new *King*, think they have an *hard Bargain*, without the **Six hundred and odd Thousand Pounds** that they are to give the *Dutch* for helping them to it to save themselves; yet it, might have been a tollerable Rate for saving of three Kingdom, *but too much of all conscience to hire any Man to take them away for himself.*

XVII. That the *Convention* should offer to sit without taking the *Test*, when that was the Jealousie that was had of the *King*, as the fatalest thing that could befal the Government in his time: For it is reasonably argued, if the *Convention* had Power to make a *King*, they must have had Power enough to *Constitute* some Body to administer the *Test*, without which, if no legal *Parliament* could be held, nor no one Law be made, *how a King can be chosen*, is a question hard to be answered.

XVIII. That *They* did not proceed to Act as a *Convention* still, but hastily *Metamorphized* themselves into a *Parliament*; since if publick necessity justifies the greater, the lesser matters cannot be Criminal: If they may put out one *King* and put in an other, they may doubtless *give Money to support him, as a Convention*: So that there could be no reason to make that change in point of necessity, because necessity gives Sanction to all they do as a *Convention*, and that a *Parliament* so made, cannot rise higher then a *Convention*: Some therefore look upon it as the effect of *fear* in the present predominant Party, that they dare not trust the People already with an *other* Choice, after making them hope they should have a *Parliament* in *April*; which is a *weakness* that should not have been shown, and a *Disappointment* that ought not to have been given to so many *Countrey Gentlemen*, that had reserved themselves for a *Parliament*. Moreover, it is hotly argued by divers persons, that a *Convention* is an *exterordinary* thing, but a *Parliament* a *legal* and *customary* Thing; The one an effect of necessity, and makes bold with Forms for *Essential* safety, the *Other* a regular part of the Constitution; but that a *Convention* has no more power to make it self a *Parliament*, then the *King* has to make himself a *Constable*, or the *Spanish Fryer* had, to turn a couple of *Capons* into a couple of *Charps*, that he might not break *Lent* at an English mans Table: Others think this such a *strain* and *violence* upon the Constitution

tution, that the Laws made by it, will *hardly be obeyed*, especially about Money: They say the *Parliament*, or *Legislative Capacity*, is as much invaded, as the *Throne*, and that it looks like a *Confederacy* of the present Possessors of both, upon the Nation, to keep out, with the King, the Gentlemen of it from their Priviledge and Birth-right, least on a new Choice, They should take new measures, and change the present Politicks.

XIX. That *They* should begin their Session with giving this new *King* an *Arbitrary Power* of Imprisoning of the Subjects persons, against the Reason of the *Law* of *Habeas Corpus*, which evidently was, *That no pretence of State Emergency should make that invade upon the fundamental right of the Subject*, in that it was not a benefit granted by Law, but by Law only *Declared, and Confirmed* against the *Encroachments* of ill times upon the *Original Contract*. But this Law plainly admits, that that Law for *Habeas Corpus* may be *against* the safety of the Government, which is *granting the Point* to those that oppose the passing of it, and to such as have wisht it Repealed upon the same pretence. That which follows upon this, must be, that either a *Parliament* be always sitting, or the *Prince* have power in Intervals, or that the Government be exposed, if such a breach, as is hereby made, be allowed to be at any time necessary: But that which agrivates the attempt, our Fears made it one of the greatest of the Crimes that the *King was to have been guilty of*, that he would for the same reason endeavour to shake such a Priviledge and Jewel of the People.

XX. That in reviving the *Revenue*, that *dropt*, with the *Abdication* of the *King*, they did not *Apropriate* what they continued, as well as let fall the *Chimny-Money*, and *additional Customs* on Sugar and Tobacco; since there cannot be a better security to the PeoplesFreedoms, then assigning the uses to which they give their Money, and making it very penal to misapply it.

XXI. That *They* committed Sr *James Smith*, for Bailing the Popish Lawyer, that was not committed by *Parliament*, nor *for Treason*, nor *upon any Suggestion or Charge upon Oath*, which in the opinion of some able Lawyers, is expresly against the Right of the Subject, and Law of the Land: Even a just Punishment may be unjustly executed.

XXII. That They should have no more Regard to the *Princes Publick Faith* in his *Declaration*, of *Indulging Papists* themselves that will live quietly, than to make a Law to *Banish them* out of Town, which is the way to provoke Mischief, if they are capable of doing any, and to be sure, the *Severest* of all Injuries, in that it deprives so many *Hundred* People of the lower sort, *of the means of getting Bread for their poor Families*; and which makes the whole Undertaking, a *Jest*, we are all at the same time to be *Guarded by Papists*, of almost all other Nations.

XXIII. That they should force him to take a *Coronation Oath* against his *Declaration* to the Kingdom, for if by this *Oath* he is not obliged to *Persecute* Dissenters, which I much question, it is certain they are left out of his *Oath*, for he Swears only to the Church, and by the late Principles of government there is no *Tye* where there is no *Contract*.

XXIV. Lastly, That such Men are *Chiefly* in the *present Ministry* that have been the *Tools* of the Monarchy, in the *worst* of Times and Practices; which, as the ingenious Author of the *Equivolent*, says, *must distrelish the best of things that are done*;

Liquor

Liquor naturally tasts of an impure Cask, and that Water cannot be clear, that comes through a foul Chanel. It is boldly affirmed, by divers Persons, that some of them were *in the Black-Heath Project*, and *promoted a French League soon after: Corrupted Parliaments, and Dissolved such as would not be Corrupted*, as the two last at *Westminister*, and that at *Oxford:* That They *turned the Scale against the Protestant Interest, in the time of the Popish Plot*; and *prevented the Exclusion*, which they seem now so *Fond* of in an after Game: That they *Violated Elections, and Invented the Dissolution of Charters*; and that it was this conduct that *adjourned* the Deliverance of the Nation, and laid the Foundation of the *Protestant Plot*, that succeeded presently upon it, which cost the *pious Lord Russel*, the *brave Sidney*, and the rest their Lives, and the Nation all the Confusion and Misery that followed it. They further say, that *Pol.* was employed in the *Bloody Expedition in the West:* That *Tre.* Sentenced the aforesaid noble Lord *against his Conscience*, to Death: That *Pow.* gave his opinion for the *dispensing Power*, fineing that Gallant Peer, my *Lord Devonshire*: That *Hol.* and *Lev.* were always high *Tory* Lawyers, and *Kings Council* against those that Suffered upon the *Protestant Plot*; and the first of them always *Council* to the absent *King:* And after so large a Profession of having only to do with *clean* Men, to take as *foul* as they have left, stumbles those that were very zealous for the present work; who begin already to say, *It is all a personal business, and the time of our Deliverance is not yet come*: And for the *Sons of the Church*, that are truly so, they see their error, and will touch no more; while *Others* that foresaw all this, Laugh in their Sleeves, and cry, *did not we tell you so? did not we tell you it would be as you see it is?*

The *Authors* Observation.

THe Observation upon all this, is not hard to make, tho it be very trist to do it, *viz.* that a *Protestant Party*, in the very exercise of *Reformation*, through their Fears of *Popery*, should give such occasion to *Papists* to *Expose* them, and *Triumph* over them and their Religion, all the World over, *by falling into the very Errors*, they charge upon the *Papists*, as that *Intollerable part* of their *Religion* and *Policy*, that they pretend to have done all *This* to be safe from, and think it a sufficient excuse and defence for the *Irregular and violent Methods* they have taken for their security, that it was to avoid such pernicious Principles, as yet they are unhappily fallen themselves into; certainly it is one of the greatest of Judgments that can come upon mankind. For example;

We say, they are for *Deposing of Kings*, and therefore not to be endured by *Kings*, however, never to be trusted by them, and *we do the same thing our selves.*

We say, they hold *that Popes can Absolve Subjects of their Allegiance to Excommunicated or Heretical* Kings, in abhorrance of which doctrine the Oath of *Allegience* and *Supremacy* were made, at least the latter, in the time of *King James* the first, by the Stile of *damnable Positions*; and yet we do worse, for instead of waiting the *Popes Excommunication* and *Absolution*, without any *civil Process*, or *legal Censure* against our own *King*, we undertake to *Absolve our selves of our Allegience to him*; which indeed is a much shorter and easier way of being rid of *Kings*, when ever it comes in our heads

not to like them: So that the queſtion between us and the *Papiſts*, upon the preſent Fact, is not whether it be lawful to Depoſe *Kings*, and Abſolve Subjects of their Allegiance, but *whether the Pope or we are to do it?*

We challenge them, *with daring to do any thing that advances the Intereſt of mother Church?* while we ſhow our ſelves as bold *to break all order and obligation for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion.*

We lay to the *Jeſuites* charge and morals, *the doing of certain ills, to prevent ſuſpected ones*, and what have not we actually done to ſecure our ſelves againſt our own Fears and Jealouſies, of what would become of us, if *King James* had continued to reign over us.

We think them not fit to be *truſted*, if yet fit to live in Society, becauſe we ſay, they hold that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, and yet at the ſame time, *we have broke ours*, after the worſt manner, with our own *King*, upon that very Principle.

We charge them with the *Abſurdity of Tranſubſtantiation* in Religion, and *practiſe it our ſelves*, in an higher nature, in Government, where *Miſteries* are leſs allowable; for with an HOC EST PARLIAMENTUM, *The Convention is a Parliament*, and the converſion is at leaſt as ſoon, as it is at *hoc eſt corpus meum*, in their Sacrament, and as truly too, but with this difference, that in our Converſion, *the thing changes it ſelf*, but in theirs, *it cannot be done without the help of a Prieſt*; which makes ours the *greater Myſtery* of the two. Let us remember who it was called theirs an *Hocus pocus*: I would not be ſo *prophain* with our Politicks.

In ſhort, we accuſe them of putting the *King* upon the Diſpenſing Power, and we diſpenſe with Oathes here, and all the Laws in *Scotland* againſt Diſſenters from the Church, in a late Declaration, that are as ſevere as ours, and as indiſpenſible.

We ſay, they would have taken away the *Teſt*, or had a *Parliament* without taking it; and we *have taken away the* King, *and made an* Other, *without taking it our ſelves.*

We feared they would by *ſuch* a Parliament, *Repeal* our *Habeas Corpus Act*, and get *Martial Law* eſtabliſhed upon *Engliſh Men*, and alas! we have prevented them, for we have Suſpended the one, and Voted the other already: After this, what can we ſay for our ſelves? O, but *it is a Parliament has done it, and that a Proteſtant Parliament* too! but that makes it the worſe, that a *Parliament*, and a *Proteſtant Parliament* too, ſhould do that which *a Popiſh King* was put by his Right *for fear he ſhould do*: That ſuch things are done, does our buſineſs with reproach, and makes *dangerous* Preſidents for ill-times to come. *Holes once made in Government, ſeldom grow leſs*; They that follow will make them *wider*. *Parliaments* are but the *Atturneys* of the People, their members are called ſo, and no Man imploys his Atturny to *give away* his natural and eſſential Priviledges; ſuch theſe are thought to be, by knowing Men, with which they have been ſo free. Nor can we tell where they will ſtop; for if the circumſtances of their preſent *King*, grow more and more deſperate, they that have dipt ſo deep with him, and for him, will *ſtick at nothing* for their own ſakes: They give largely, and may well do ſo, *for they give to themſelves*, Since it is to *ſave themſelves* from the condition of anſwering for what they have done: Upon this foot they ſtand, and they would have the *diſpoſal* of all our Eſtates to ſuport it; and who can blame them for it, or will excuſe us if we ſhall pay it: They to be ſafe, as well as

powerful

powerful, muſt do any thing that he would have them; the moſt miſerable ſtate, doubtleſs, any poor Countrey can be reduced to, when a number of Men that have the *credit of a Repreſentative*, are through *fear* or *advantage* obliged, *at any rate*, to uphold the *perſonal and indirect* Intereſt of the Poſſeſſor of that Crown.

We complained that *Father Peters* was againſt Law taken into the Council (tho doing it could only hurt the Papiſts) and we can admit *Mounſieur Benting* into it, that is a *Forraigner*, and *Unnaturalized*, and ſuch a *Superiour* Favorite, that the Other could not more diſturb the Clergy, then this Gentleman has the misfortune, by a Behaviour that looks like Inſolent, to diſguſt the *Engliſh Nobility and Gentry*. His beſpeaking Qualities I am a Stranger to: I hear *he does as he is bid*, as other Favorites uſe to do; but Engliſhmen naturally don't love *Gaveſtons*.

But we were very angry with *Will Chiſnech*'s *Cabinet*, as believing it had the *direction* of all our Affairs, tho recommended under the Authority of more viſible and allowed Councils; but we can *ſecurely* ſuffer the *Dutch Cabinet*, conſiſting of *Monſ. Benting* and the *Five Commiſſioners* from *Holland*, that are the preſent Court *Springs*, that move all our Councils both in and out of Parliament, who, alas, have only the honour of *putting off their Ware*, and do in effect but ſtand Goſſips to their meaſures: It is indeed pretended they are come upon an *Errand of Congratulation* of the happy ſucceſs of the Prince and Princeſs, *againſt their Father* (which is the ſecond exploit and pledg of their morality of late in that kind) but in reality they are ſhut in upon the Secret, and thither it is this *King* ſo often DIVES *out of ſight of the Engliſh Nobility and Gentry*, that he makes to wait his return, without, as humbly, as the *Footmen* can do at *White-Hall* the riſing of the Council: Nor is it to be thought, but Dutch Men muſt be *Dutch Men in buſineſs*; They are made with a *contrary Byaſs* to *England*, and always move with advantage to *Holland*, that has quite an other Intereſt then ours; for both ſeek the ſame thing for differing ends. That Countrey, whatever we are miſerably couzoned to believe, is more our *Rival* then *France* it ſelf, who can have no end upon us, but not to help her Enemies; whereas *Holland* has a *direct*, *natural* and *eſſential* reaſon of State to *leſſen* us; and this Intereſt that will not lie, will quickly teach us, notwithſtanding the pretty notions of *Union* that at preſent govern us. When I ſee either Countrey leave off Trade, or love Religion more then Trade, I will believe the *Union* poſſible; till then, we that ſee *Towns* and *Provinces* under the ſame Government, pinching and envying one another, muſt have *more Speculation then Judgment*, to think that *Holland* and *England* can meet in an Intereſt, and conſequently, that a *Dutch Cabinet* will never govern us to our advantage. *But by all theſe Steps we are to learn this, that the Publick is ſtill to be ſubmitted to private Ends, by which means the People are put off from their common Intereſt, and our natural Antidote is turned into a National Poyſon:* A condition our Sins have brought us into, and God alone, upon the deepeſt and ſincereſt Repentance can deliver us from: And I beſeech him, upon my bended Knees, to give us the one, and ſave us, (O Lord ſave us) from the other, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, thy Son, and our bleſſed Saviour, *Amen*.

FINES.